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VOLKHARD WEHNER, *The German-Speaking Community of Victoria between 1850 and 1830: Origins, Progress and Decline*, Geschichte, 155 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2018), ix + 292 pp. ISBN 978 3 643 91032 5. €39.90

In recent decades the history of the German diaspora has become a key theme in German historiography, focusing especially upon those who fled the Nazis and, even more, upon the economic migration of the second half of the nineteenth century. Contemporaries recognized and railed against the pre-First World War emigration, regarding it as a haemorrhaging of population to the other parts of the world—including the British Empire—which fed into the debate about the necessity for German imperial expansion.¹ The question of the loss of population remained dormant in the age of catastrophe during the first half of the twentieth century, as attention focused on the First World War and the rise and fall of the Nazis. By the 1980s and 1990s historians turned their attention both to the reasons for the emigration which took place before 1914 and to the German communities which developed throughout the world.

The key player in the German language historiography was Klaus J. Bade, who was driven by a desire to counteract the hostility which foreign workers faced in the Federal Republic of Germany by informing both historians and the wider public about the history of migration into and out of Germany. He pointed out that while Germany had become a country of immigration (despite attempts by government to deny this), it previously had the status of a land of emigration.² Meanwhile, by the end of the twentieth century, studies appeared on the German diasporic communities which emerged in locations throughout the world, usually written by scholars living within those locations and often focusing upon the era of the First

¹ See esp. Fritz Josephy, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung seit 1871* (Berlin, 1912); Eugen von Philippovich (ed.), *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1892); Wilhelm Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche Überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, 1912).

² See esp. Klaus J. Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland, 1880–1980* (Berlin, 1983); id. (ed.), *Population, Labour and Migration in 19th and 20th Century Germany* (London, 1987); id. (ed.), *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich, 1992).

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World War.³ Most recently a number of books have emerged on the concept of German diaspora before the First World War.⁴

Volkard Wehner has also produced a volume on a specific German community, this time in the Australian state of Victoria, covering the period between 1850 and 1930. It further adds to our understanding of emigration and settlement, diasporic consciousness, inter-ethnic relations, and destruction and assimilation (where possible and where it had not already taken place) as a result of the Germanophobia which gripped the British Empire and those states that fought against Germany (and even those that did not, including Brazil and the USA before they joined the conflict in 1917) during the First World War. Wehner has produced a local portrait of a global story.

Although this was written as a Ph.D. for the University of Melbourne, the author has, for some reason, followed the German pattern of simply reproducing his work without making any changes, whereas the norm in the Anglo-Saxon environment is to use a Ph.D. as the basis for a book. Although the original thesis may have required little revision because of its quality, the fact that it looks exactly like a Ph.D. dissertation proves irritating. Wehner has not even changed the word 'thesis' to 'book' when referring to his own narrative within this study, and retains the numbered sections typical of German theses.

These irritations (which do blemish this work) aside, Wehner has produced an interesting contribution to the history of the German diaspora. We can identify the following strengths. First, perhaps precisely because he has written a Ph.D. thesis, he has immersed himself in the extant literature on German diaspora communities throughout the world, especially in the USA but also elsewhere. Writing local studies always raises the issue of whether the example under consid-

³ For the USA see Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (De Kalb, Il., 1974). See also id., *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987). For Australia see Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia, 1914–1920* (St Lucia, Qld., 1989). See also Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain During the First World War* (Oxford, 1991); and id. (ed.), *Germans as Minorities during the First World War: A Global Comparative Perspective* (Farnham, 2014).

⁴ See esp. Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The 'Greater German Empire', 1871–1914* (London, 2014).

eration is typical. Wehner helps to resolve this by constantly referring to other case studies as well as to more general publications, including that by Stefan Manz. One of the strongest features of Wehner's work is that it looks at both rural and urban settlers in the period under consideration. This is possible because Germans in Victoria resided in both types of area, a situation typical of Australia, unlike for example, in Britain.⁵ Wehner therefore addresses the differences between those Germans who lived almost as isolated individuals and families in rural locations, those who lived in towns, and those who resided in Melbourne. He looks at their ability to maintain and develop German identity and how they interacted with the 'Anglo' community, both before and during the First World War, when Germanophobia gripped Victoria, Australia, and the whole of the British Empire.

Wehner has, in many ways, produced a complete history of the German diaspora in Victoria following the pattern of Manz's urban study of Glasgow, which traced settlement, economic activity, ethnicity, and destruction and elimination.⁶ Wehner goes back to the origins of the migrants, especially in what he describes as the 'East-Elbian provinces' of Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Saxony. These were major providers of German emigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century, while those of the first half of the century tended to have come from Germany's south-western states of Baden and Württemberg. Wehner investigates the contrasting occupations of the settlers, which included viticulture and goldmining, along with a variety of urban occupations. In some ways, those Germans who settled in towns and cities found it easier to maintain a sense of German identity because of their greater numbers.

Religion, especially in the form of Lutheranism, proved fundamental in the development of German identity in Victoria, as it did amongst the German diaspora all over the world, no matter how small the settlement. Following the Franco-Prussian War, the German diaspora in Australia became politicized as it did in other parts of the world, inspired by organizations in Berlin. Although assimila-

⁵ See Stefan Manz, *Migranten und Internierte: Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864-1918* (Stuttgart, 2003); and Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 1995). Both tell an entirely urban story.

⁶ Manz, *Migranten und Internierte*.

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tion had taken place from the first settlement of the immigrants in the 1840s, the First World War experience of the community here resembled that of Germans all over the world, especially in the British Empire. A combination of official measures and popular Germanophobia resulted in the persecution of the new enemy aliens, a process that included press vilification and internment. Wehner focuses on two German academics at the University of Melbourne, Walter von Dechend and Eduard Scharf. They lost their positions, a picture which was repeated in other parts of the British Empire,⁷ as academic institutions fell victim to rampant Germanophobia. Wehner chooses to end his story in 1930 rather than in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, the usual endpoint for studies of this nature.⁸ This allows him to examine the extent to which Germans and their institutions survived.

Wehner has produced an interesting, thorough, and useful study of all aspects of the history of the Germans in Victoria from the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. Using a wide variety of sources, especially newspapers, he has added another piece to the jigsaw of the German diaspora of the nineteenth century. He contextualizes his research extremely well in the historiography which has emerged in recent decades.

⁷ See e.g. Andrew Francis, 'Anti-Alienism in New Zealand during the Great War: The von Zedlitz Affair, 1915', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 24 (2006), 251-76.

⁸ Razak Khan, focusing simply on the Indian context, does not realize this when reviewing Panikos Panayi, *The Germans in India: Elite European Migrants in the British Empire* (Manchester, 2017), in *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 40 (2018), 107-11, at 110-11. The community which emerged and faced internment in India during the First World War had little to do with that which developed after 1918 and therefore deserves a separate history. Alan Malpass has begun to work on the Second World War experience of the Germans in India.

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